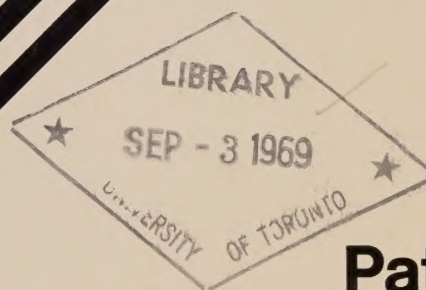


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Patterns of Housekeeping in Two Eskimo Settlements

By Charles Thomas Thompson

NSRG 69-1

PATTERNS OF HOUSEKEEPING IN TWO ESKIMO SETTLEMENTS

by

Charles Thomas Thompson, Research Officer

This report is based on research carried out while the author was employed by the Northern Science Research Group. It is reproduced here as a contribution to our knowledge of the North.

Requests for copies of this report should be addressed to Chief, Northern Science Research Group, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Ottawa.

Issued Under the Authority of the
Honourable Jean Chrétien, P.C., M.P., B.A., LL.L.
Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development

Northern Science Research Group
Department of Indian Affairs and
Northern Development
Ottawa, March, 1969

Queen's Printer and Controller of Stationery
Ottawa, 1969

Cat. No. R72-5669

FOREWORD

Although the Canadian Government has been significantly involved in the provision of housing for Indian and Eskimo people in the North since 1959, increased concern about the housing problems of the permanent residents of Arctic communities lead to a greatly expanded Northern Housing Program in 1965. The resulting changes in social relations and in life-style are significant and profound in their implications for future development in the North.

This study, NSRG 69-1, is the first of a series in which it is planned to examine and record some of these changes. As a social science field worker, the author occupied a role which was that of a student and observer of the local scene in the communities where he conducted research. He had no responsibility or concern for effecting change. This tended to allow him an access to observe daily living habits, which it is hoped made possible a description of a part of the pattern of everyday life in the selected Eskimo communities otherwise more difficult to obtain. It is hoped that this report can contribute to an improved understanding on the part of teachers, social workers, and others with similar duties, of the life of these people.

A. J. Kerr,
Chief,
Northern Science Research Group.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many people have given invaluable aid during the completion of this report. Special mention should be made of host families in the settlements without whom the fieldwork could not have been completed. Shoo and his wife Kootigook and their children housed me in Frobisher Bay. Peter Kalloar and his wife Louisa Koonoonark made my three months in Baker Lake very pleasant; Peter's son Charlie Toolooktuk often provided friendship and three-year-old Mary Madaline offered relief when the daily strains of field work proved difficult. Ottochie Ashoona, his wife Toomeeruk and their children included me in their rather large network of kin in both settlement and camp while I was in Cape Dorset.

Special thanks is also extended to my field assistants and interpreters, Meesa in Cape Dorset and Joseph Keaujuk in Baker Lake. Mr. Keaujuk was not only assistant and interpreter but companion as well. Both men were well-liked in their respective communities and provided me entree into situations where I could not have gone alone.

The fieldworker necessarily relies upon a permanent home-base staff and the personnel of Northern Science Research Group under Mervin Leskie were able to keep me supplied and happy while I was in the field. My fellow research officers and our chief, A.J. Kerr, have also provided assistance and comment.

Additional notes of thanks are extended to Dr. Louise E. Sweet of the University of Manitoba and to William Kemp of State University of New York at Binghamton for their comments on the manuscript.

Finally, the author wishes to express thanks to those few individuals and families who always seemed to have a cup of tea or special treat when it was needed most — Judy Thomas and Jennifer Mills in Baker Lake, and in Cape Dorset the Anglican minister and his wife Mr. and Mrs. Gardener.

Ottawa, May 1969

Tom Thompson

Field Work

Field work was conducted between August 1967 and July 1968 in the communities of Frobisher Bay (one month), Baker Lake (three months) and Cape Dorset (three months). The author lived with an Eskimo family in each of the settlements. In Frobisher Bay and Cape Dorset, the families were living in three bedroom rental houses of the *Urquaq* type (See Appendix I C. p.47). No rental houses were completed in Baker Lake during the field session, November to February, and the author lived with a family in a one-room 370 model house (Appendix I C p.41) Data were gathered through participant observation, informal interviewing (Baker Lake) and formal interviewing with a questionnaire administered in Eskimo (Cape Dorset).

Interviews in the settlements were carried out with the aid of an interpreter in almost all cases. The field interpreter in Baker Lake had had previous experience with social scientists and was able to quickly grasp the ideas of the researcher. Interviews in Baker Lake were mostly unstructured with translation taking place during the interview. In Cape Dorset, fluency in English had to be sacrificed in favour of a reliable assistant. Interviews were conducted in Eskimo with the aid of a questionnaire, and were taped and translated later.

The program of research concerned with the housing program will be carried out over a number of years. The original plan was to begin research in the Eastern Arctic and continue westward with the stages of construction of the rental housing program. The community of Pangnirtung was chosen to initiate the research but proved unfeasible when accommodation could not be secured there. Frobisher Bay was not really chosen for initial research but time spent there during August and September 1967 was utilized. Baker Lake was chosen because of the background provided by Vallee's study (1962) and because it is accessible throughout the year by air travel. The construction program had just begun in Baker Lake in 1967 and pre-rental housing attitudes could be surveyed. Cape Dorset was chosen because the Area Administrator was able to arrange accommodation for the author before his arrival in the settlement and because the established rental program could provide contrasting data which could be used as a predictive measure for the data gathered in Baker Lake.

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ORIENTAL FABLE

Once upon a time a monkey and a fish were caught up in a great flood. The monkey, agile and experienced, had the good fortune to scramble up a tree to safety. As he looked down into the raging waters, he saw a fish struggling against the swift current. Filled with a humanitarian desire to help his less fortunate fellow, he reached down and scooped the fish from the water. To the monkey's surprise, the fish was not very grateful for this aid.

NORTHERN RENTAL HOUSING PROGRAM (ESKIMO)

AS OF APRIL, 1969

CANADA



LEGEND:
▲ - Location and total number of
units constructed 1966-68.

REGION	AREA	Supplied 1966	Supplied 1967	Supplied 1968	Units Supplied TOTAL
FROBISHER BAY	Cape Dorset	25	24	0	49
	Lake Harbour	0	10	12	22
	Repulse Bay	0	0	0	0
	Protestant Bay	0	0	0	0
	Protestant Is.	25	4	0	29
	Clare	0	7	7	14
	Pond Inlet	20	10	0	30
	Grise Fiord	7	8	0	15
	Arctic Bay	20	0	0	20
	Arctic Bay	11	7	0	18
	Iqloolik	24	8	0	32
	Hall Beach	7	2	0	9
TOTALS		187	152	19	358
KEEWATIN	Cool Harbour	0	0	35	35
	Repulse Bay	0	10	10	20
	Baker Lake	0	47	37	79
	Quasiarfield	0	26	0	26
	Whale Cove	0	13	10	23
	Whale Cove	0	13	10	23
	Whale Cove	0	13	10	23
	Whale Cove	0	13	10	23
	Whale Cove	0	13	10	23
	Whale Cove	0	13	10	23
TOTALS		1	158	140	297
ARCTIC/DIUBEC	Payne Bay	0	0	3	3
	Meikourt	0	0	3	3
	Fort Chimo	0	4	0	4
	Port Barwell	0	0	5	5
	Syngik	0	4	3	7
	Port Harrison	0	2	4	6
	Great Whale	0	5	0	5
	River	0	1	1	2
	Becher Is(s)	0	1	1	2
	Becher Is(s)	0	1	1	2
	Becher Is(s)	0	1	1	2
	Becher Is(s)	0	1	1	2
TOTALS		0	20	20	40
YELLOWKNIFE	Felly Bay	0	32	0	32
	Cambridge Bay	0	5	15	20
	Cambridge Bay	0	5	15	20
	Cambridge Bay	0	5	15	20
	Cambridge Bay	0	5	15	20
	Cambridge Bay	0	5	15	20
	Cambridge Bay	0	5	15	20
	Cambridge Bay	0	5	15	20
	Cambridge Bay	0	5	15	20
	Cambridge Bay	0	5	15	20
	Cambridge Bay	0	5	15	20
	Cambridge Bay	0	5	15	20
TOTALS		0	48	80	128
INUVIK	Poulank	0	7	0	7
	Arctic Bay	0	5	12	17
	Tuktoyaktuk	0	4	3	7
	FT Norman	0	1	0	1
	FT Norman	0	1	0	1
	FT Norman	0	1	0	1
	FT Norman	0	1	0	1
	FT Norman	0	1	0	1
	FT Norman	0	1	0	1
	FT Norman	0	1	0	1
	FT Norman	0	1	0	1
	FT Norman	0	1	0	1
TOTALS		0	21	20	41
GRAND TOTALS		188	397	279	864

No.1

Surveying
Mapping
Technical Services Branch
I A B N O

INTRODUCTION

In 1965 the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development launched a five-year crash program aimed at providing low-cost rental housing to the Eskimo (and later the Indian) population of the Northwest Territories. The rental program is not the first attempt to provide low-cost housing in the Arctic; it is, however, the first effort which is attempting to introduce new concepts in housing education as well as large, multi-room dwellings. Early programs attempted to sell houses to Eskimos and Indians and generally failed to make any attempt to educate the buyers in the intricacies of buying, selling, furnishing and maintenance that accompany such things as mortgages and deeds of ownership.

The Education Division of the Arctic District Office has been responsible for planning and implementing a program of adult education which accompanies the introduction of the rental housing into each settlement. The program is described in more detail in Appendix I, but basically, the primary goals are to show people how to best use the housing and services which are provided in the rental scheme. Adult education officers, primarily home economists, work in each settlement for part of the education program.

In the fall of 1967, the Northern Science Research Group launched a continuing research program concerned with the Departmental programs and policy on housing in the North. It is hoped that the results of this research will provide material to those departmental officials who need descriptive data which will influence the changes in policy that necessarily accompany any program that is drawn up. At the same time, we hope to be able to provide reports on changing attitudes of the northern populations which can be used to predict programs and policies which will be needed in the future. These reports will be used to build a theoretical framework which can be useful both to the department and to other social scientists. In this way, we hope to be able to influence decisions on both the short-range programs such as rental housing and also the more important long-range programs which are concerned with the continuing development of community structure in an Arctic environment.

This report on homemaking patterns in two Eskimo communities is the first to appear in the series. The material, which is primarily descriptive, is presented in the hope that it will be useful to adult educators who need to know some of the results of their labours to date. It should also be useful to planners who can perhaps be better able to note areas where more work needs to be done and to those people who will be teaching for the first time in a northern community. However, where the author has felt the information to be relevant, suggestions for the improvement of housing or education have been included. Subsequent reports will dwell less on these descriptive data and will be concerned more with the attitudes of the recipients toward the programs. Since this first report is concerned primarily with information on the rental housing program, emphasis has been placed upon the data from Cape Dorset.

CHAPTER I

THE RENTAL PROGRAM

A. Baker Lake

1. The Introduction of the Program in 1967

The rental program was introduced in Baker Lake during the spring of 1967. It was planned at that time that forty-two houses would be ready for occupancy by the fall of 1967. The initial phase of the educational part of the program was very successful in Baker Lake and the majority of the people had a good grasp of the concepts explained to them during the spring which were written in the materials that they received at that time. Fifty percent of the community showed an immediate interest in the program and signed the list for potential tenants. Those families who are living in welfare housing were not included in making up the list since their housing needs will be taken care of automatically.

2. The Construction Program of 1967

The fall shipping and the winter construction of the houses was far less than anticipated, and instead of 42 houses, 11 were considered to be habitable when the construction crew departed December 15. Of these 11, only two were painted on the inside. Although everyone had chosen the plot on which he wanted his house to go, the general feeling was that those families still living in snow houses and scrap houses would be the first to move into the new houses. This meant that not everyone would be getting the exact location that he wanted, but under the circumstances, not much else could be done.

Those families who originally expressed an interest in the rental program were somewhat disappointed by the failure of the building program to materialize to its projected extent in 1967. None of the families had withdrawn from the program however, and most were looking forward to a better program during the coming summer and expressed the hope that they would be in the new houses by the fall of 1968.

3. Attitudes Toward a Rental Scheme Based Upon Income

Some of the white people in Baker Lake have questioned the merits of the scheme* (i.e. rent based upon income), saying that the steady wage earner is being penalized by having to pay a higher rent than those not having a steady income. However, when this argument was presented to Eskimos by the interviewer, none voiced resentment. On the contrary, those interviewed felt that the man with a

* For a complete description of the rental scheme see Appendix I—A.



HOUSING BUILT FROM SCRAP LUMBER

NSRG film files
Eastern Arctic



CANVAS AND SCRAP LUMBER TENT-HOUSE

NSRG film files
Eastern Arctic

steady income has a greater sense of security and that the fact that his neighbour has less rent to pay for an identical house with identical services does not concern him. "As long as I can take care of myself and my family. I don't care what the other family is paying" is the predominant attitude. The white people seem to be pressing their own concepts of pride of ownership and work and the degrading aspects of welfare. The Eskimos do not voice these same opinions – although some who work hard on the land* may resent the fact that others seem to get as many material things for less effort. However, the predominant opinion is that when there is no work (either for wages or when someone is unable to go onto the land), then a man cannot be condemned for not working – he will have little or no prestige but no one expects a man who is unequipped to go out onto the land.

B. Cape Dorset

The rental program was introduced into Cape Dorset in 1966 and during the summer construction period twenty-five units were erected. These were followed by twenty-four units during the summer of 1967. The total number of rental units as of June 1968 was 66 which included one and two bedroom units.

1. Reactions to the Housing Design

The tenants do not question that the new rental houses are in many ways far superior to any of the house-types that the government provided previously. However, the new houses are not perfect and there are some definite lacks in them. All of those people questioned agreed that there is not enough storage space provided in either of the two new models. Shelf and cupboard space is at a premium and many of the people feel that they cannot add large amounts of new shelving space to the houses because they do not own them. It must also be acknowledged that the new houses are so designed that the addition of shelves and closets would decrease the actual usable living space, sometimes significantly. Additional closet space is sometimes provided by metal lockers which decrease living space. The cold porches are used not only for food storage but for other material goods, especially skins and they have proven to be inadequate. The *Urquaq* model (chart p.47) does not have shelving in the cold porch; the other porch entry way is very small and cannot provide much useful space for coats, etc. The *Urquaq* model would be significantly improved by the addition of shelving to the front porch. In this model, the front cold porch entrance is most often used as the food storage area even though the side entrance is designated for food storage in the plans. (see p. 48).

Cupboard space in the kitchen area is more commodious in the *Ukkiivik* model (p.50) than in the *Urquaq*. The latter also has an added problem with sliding doors on the cupboards which often are warped and do not slide well (or at all); this problem has been alleviated in the more recent versions of this model home by using swing-hinged doors on the cupboards. In the original plans for the *Urquaq* model home, the centre bedroom was quite small because space had been used for two small closets and a storage area that faced into the general living area. The more

* The expression "on the land" is used for all hunting, fishing, and trapping activities.



MODEL 370 ONE ROOM HOMES – HOLMAN ISLAND

Peter Usher
1966



C. Thompson 1968

THE ANGIRRAG DIVIDED ONE-ROOM HOME – CAPE DORSET

recent models have enlarged the centre bedroom by doing away with the closets and storage area. This is unfortunate since the storage area had greater priority among the Eskimos than the size of the bedroom. Since the bedrooms are used only for sleeping, there is little premium placed upon their size; indeed the larger bedroom often means the inclusion of another bed in that room and the actual usable floor space is no larger.

2. Attitudes Toward Rent-paying

Because of the overall nature of the rental program which included the re-buying of houses in the settlement, some people have been acquainted with some form of renting for more than two years. The obvious exceptions are those who moved into the rental houses directly from camps.

The majority of those responding to the question of preference for renting or buying would rather rent than buy the homes (25 vs 5). Even those who would rather buy the homes feel that renting is the most logical choice when they do not have a full-time income. Only five of the men interviewed felt that the rent was high. Two of the men had legitimate complaints and their cases were to come before the Housing authority*, but nine others felt that while the rent was not high, it was difficult to make monthly payments. Those heads of homes who do not have steady incomes do not have to pay every month, of course, but rather pay a yearly rent which can be paid at any time (see Appendix I-A p. 31). Any tenant can pay ahead on his rent or make more than one payment a month if he wishes. The D.I.A.N.D. Clerk has devised special rent forms which allow columns for a number of payments during any one month; the columns are then totalled at the end of the month to show the complete monthly payment. Prior to this only one payment was entered and there was some problem with those people who made a number of small payments during any one month. Arrears are carried forward at the end of every month.

Generally speaking, there is little difficulty in collecting the rents or with the understanding on the part of the people that they are responsible for paying rent for their homes. However in June, 1968, eight families who were from four to eight months in arrears were notified that if they did not make some effort to pay their rents one or all of three things would happen: the electricity would be cut off, the oil delivery would be stopped, or they would be moved to smaller, unserviced houses. The pattern of regular or semi-regular payment of rents for housing and the included services is more likely to fit into band ethics of reciprocity than the resale policy of payments did. Rental payments are immediately reciprocated in the form of services and accommodation and fit into the basically pragmatic world view of the Eskimos in these settlements. Immediate exchange of goods and services also is the predominant pattern of reciprocal exchange with non-kin in band organized societies.

* See Appendix I A p. 32 for details on the Housing Authority.



THE URQUAQ 3 BEDROOM HOME – CAPE DORSET

C. Thompson 1968



THE UKUVIK 3 BEDROOM HOME – CAPE DORSET

C. Thompson 1968

In contrast to Baker Lake, however, some dissatisfaction with the scaled rents scheme was expressed. Rents are scaled to income and tenants are divided into three categories 1) fully employed 2) welfare or pension and 3) casual labourers, hunters, artists, etc.* Some of the men who have full-time jobs and who pay 20% of their salary for rent resent the fact that they sometimes pay more than those families who are included in the third category of hunters, artists and casual labourers. Since the rent of this third group is based upon the average income of a number of people, some of the men in this category are actually making as much money as a few of the full-time wage earners. (Their income can, however, change drastically from year to year). The dissatisfaction is due more to a lack of understanding of why the rents are different than to anything else. The men paying the higher rents feel that they are being overcharged for personal reasons either on the part of the Housing Authority or on the part of the government. These men feel that everyone should be paying the same rent regardless of income and that rents should be low.

3. Suggestions for Improvement

In addition to the suggestions the women made for more cupboard and closet space and shelving, their other suggestions for changes in the houses or in the equipment provided were: larger water tanks, bigger stoves with water tanks for heating water, the inclusion of a bathtub, better roofs, bigger chairs, and higher shelving which would be out of children's reach. Almost all of the women indicated that they were unsatisfied with the stoves. They would prefer a larger stove that includes a side tank for heating water. Most women felt that the stoves were adequate for most of their cooking and for making bannock, but that the ovens were too small for baking bread. Few women use the ovens for anything but baking bannock. A number of women indicated that the stoves did not heat well.

All of the houses come equipped with basic furnishings, or material for constructing them, and with some dishes and cutlery. The women expressed satisfaction with the furnishings** but said that the dishes were too small (no dinner plates or large bowls were included) and that they often did not use them. They also said that the dishes break easily. Many families have added furnishings to their homes (chesterfields, chairs, end tables, tables, lamps, radios, and phonographs etc.), but there were two homes which had less than the basic furnishings provided. Other additions in furnishings include framed pictures, benches, clocks, and curtains. A few homes have refrigerators and washing machines.

In addition, everyone has built single or bunk beds for his home since only the frame for the double bed was provided. Some have also added bars for hanging and drying clothes inside, and a few men have added extra shelves inside. The amount and size of the furnishings built varies with the size of the available scrap material

* For full details on scaled rent see Appendix I-A p. 31).

** See Appendix I-A (p. 35) for list of furnishings and dishes



THREE BEDROOM HOMES SOLD IN BAKER LAKE 396' MODELS

C. Thompson 1968

and with the ability of the person concerned. In the summer of 1968, a number of men were building porches and steps onto their houses. These varied from small entryways to full house-length porches. A number of people have also requested permission to construct small out-buildings which they could use for storage.

All of the women felt that the new larger houses were much easier to keep clean than the smaller houses were. The floor covering is generally in good shape and there were no complaints about it being difficult to sweep or scrub or wax. Some women already have and use floor polishers and other women expressed a desire to get them. Women felt that water for general cleaning and washing purposes sometimes proved difficult to get, but most felt that a larger stove with a water tank would alleviate much of the problem of melting sufficient amounts of snow and ice for general household use during the winter.

C. Services

Services included in the rental program are oil delivery, water delivery, electricity,* and trash and sewage pick-up and disposal. A generator in the community supplies electrical power to all the staff houses, the rental houses, the Hudson's Bay Co., the R.C.M.P., the missions, and the Co-op. Oil is also delivered by D.I.A.N.D. to the government staff houses and to the rental houses, but trash pick-up to the rental houses is not as regular as is desired.

The lack of the latter services on a full-time basis is due to a lack of funds rather than to any intentional discrimination on the part of the local administration. In Cape Dorset, water in the form of ice blocks is made available to anyone who can pick it up at the fresh water lake that serves as the community's water supply. Snow is also melted for use during the winter. In the spring and summer, hoses are placed in the run-off streams and then laid through various sections of the community so that the people can fill pails and tanks from these hoses and carry the water to their homes. In Baker Lake, water is delivered to all houses by trucks which fill up from the lake. During the severe winter, delivery to all houses is not always possible. Melting snow and ice in the winter is a problem only (or primarily) because the stoves are small and it is difficult to accumulate large supplies of ready water for washing purposes, etc. The latter problem is alleviated somewhat during the winter in both communities by community laundry-bathhouses, which are made available for a small fee. Washing machines and driers are available on a first-come basis and most families make good use of the facilities.

* See Appendix I-A for quotas on oil and electricity.

CHAPTER II

HOUSEKEEPING AND ADULT EDUCATION

A. Housekeeping

The most common reaction to Eskimo patterns of housekeeping is that it lacks organization. This, of course, implies with ethnocentric positivism that the patterns of the dominant (i.e. white) culture embody all the ideals of good housekeeping put forth in a famous magazine by the same name. The following information on housekeeping and food preparation is presented with these biases in mind to show how Eskimo women adapt new patterns to their own situations; these adaptations do not always meet the approval of the white educators. Although some information has negative overtones, the author includes it to point out areas where Eskimos consistently prefer their own adaptations rather than to make an invidious comparison with white patterns originally offered as the models for the Eskimo women to follow.

Few Eskimo women in Baker Lake would measure up to standards set by white women in reference to housekeeping; on the other hand, no white woman in the north works against such high odds as does the Eskimo woman in her household chores. In the one room houses, much of the available floor space is taken up with beds and bedding; in addition every home has a stove and a kitchen table of sorts and a cabinet sink. There are no built-in storage areas, consequently cupboards and closets if at all present are extras. All available space under the beds and table and in the toilet area in the one-room houses serves as storage areas. The two-room houses sometimes have a small built-in closet, but the big problem of storage is still present.

Few families possess a large number of dishes and some, in fact, barely have enough for one meal; however, most usually have more than enough cups. Since few families ever serve "meals" in the southern Canadian sense of everyone sitting down at the table together, the problem of dishes is not acute. It does mean, however, that some dishes are almost always dirty because someone has just eaten; washing them usually takes place just before they are used. Irregular meals and the presence of unwashed dishes on the table or in the sink often gives an air of untidiness even though the house may be clean.

Cleaning usually means that things must be shifted from one place to another since storage space is a problem. Many women sweep or scrub their floors often (sometimes daily), but the constant traffic in one room homes quickly obliterates most efforts in this direction. Since a lot of work such as ski-doo repairs and carpentry is done inside the house in the winter, a neat and tidy home (in white terms) becomes an impossible ideal for most Eskimo women.

Few women in Cape Dorset have established a daily routine for cleaning their homes. Although some have established a fairly detailed weekly routine, the majority of the women seem to work on an irregular basis. However, these women usually have some kind of monthly cleaning pattern when they do all the cleaning at one time and then let everything go until the next clean-up.

Their attitude seems to be that house-cleaning is a major job, is a lot of work, and it is not worth doing on a daily basis. To the outsider, it may seem that these women have developed absolutely no system in house-cleaning, however, over a period of months one can discern that they do indeed have cleaning cycles in which extreme highs and lows are reached in cleanliness. Nevertheless, a growing number of women are adopting a more frequent weekly or daily routine in their housework. This group has found that although they work more often than some of their neighbours, and have somewhat less time for visiting, the total volume of work for any one day or week is much less.

Dishwashing: In most families, dishes are washed as they are needed or when a large number have accumulated. A few wash dishes immediately after eating. Dishes are usually washed in warm, soapy water, sometimes in the same water that has been used for hand and face washing, etc. There is no special cloth or dish towel, the same cloth and towel being used for all washing and drying purposes. Dishes are rarely if ever rinsed in clear water after washing, but they are always dried.

Floors: Floors are swept and scrubbed at the inclination of the homemaker. The floors in most homes are kept reasonably clean, of course; cleanliness varies with the severity of the weather and whether or not boots are worn inside the house. Some women occasionally wax their floors, depending upon the availability of wax in the stores; many women feel that a floor polisher is necessary in order for them to keep their floors clean.

Bedrooms: Little or no attempt is made to cover or protect mattresses. Sheets are rarely used. Sleeping bags sometimes take the place of blankets. In some houses where there are more mattresses than beds, the mattresses are stacked two or three on a bed. Bunk beds are not preferred even when they would save space. In those homes where the men have built bunk beds, the top bunk is usually used for storage space.

Toilet: Toilet bags are allowed to fill before they are removed and replaced. Mysto-van or a like disinfectant is used occasionally when it is available in the store. Some families complained that bathtubs were not included in the new rental houses in the smaller settlements.

Porches: Cold porches are used to store material goods and clothing as well as foods, especially meats. The organization of goods on the porches depends upon the amount of things to be stored. Some people have built additional shelves in those model homes which did not include a shelf area on the cold porch.

Clothes Washing: Washing clothes is still a problem in many homes although in some areas washing machines are becoming available. In Baker Lake, there are washing machines and dryers for general use in the public bath-house. Many of the women make frequent use of these but there are some women who have never used the machines because of inexperience (and a little fear). Women who have their own machines have the problem of heating water for the wash plus the added problem of having enough water. Most homes have a 45 gallon water tank that is filled twice a week when delivery is possible, but the ideal of twice weekly delivery cannot always be adhered to (e.g. In Baker Lake we went six weeks without water delivery at one time). At these times ice or snow must be melted and it is difficult to keep enough water on hand for drinking, cooking, and cleaning, let alone for washing clothes and the like. In many homes, water is re-used; i.e. water used for washing clothes is then used to scrub the floor, thus cutting down on the amount of water needed. In contrast, the staff houses for the government personnel have large water tanks (100 gallons) which are filled twice a week. They also have hot water tanks and, of course, running water.

Although Cape Dorset has a community laundry house which is open about ten months of the year (it was closed for the summer of 1968), and although most people who do not have washing machines at home use the laundry house, clothes are often hand-washed at home as they are needed. Outer garments and parkas are only rarely washed (some people have only one.) Those families with washing machines do not necessarily wash clothes more often because the process of collecting and heating water is often a time-consuming and difficult task.

Windows: Windows are sometimes cleaned with a commercial product. Frequent cleaning outside is difficult because of the cold weather. Most homes have some kind of curtains but these are often rolled up out of the way. Often a cloth or blanket is tacked over the bedroom windows.

B. Food Preparation

No family in Cape Dorset lives exclusively on what can be termed a "land" or traditional diet. In addition to flour, sugar, tea and salt, which have become part of the "traditional" diet, a large number of store products have been introduced through the expansion of the Hudson's Bay store and the co-op store. Indeed, some families rely to a greater extent upon store products than they do meat and fish obtained through hunting. However, seals, caribou, fish and fowl in season still figure as the primary sources of meat for the people of the Cape Dorset area. During the field study in Baker Lake, land food was scarce and almost all food was from the store.

Bannock: A kind of unleavened bread, bannock is made in a variety of ways. In the homes having oil cook stoves, the bannock is baked in the oven or in an iron skillet on top of the stove. Bannock which is baked can be stored for a number of days and several loaves are usually baked at one time. When a primus or camp stove is used, the mixture is put into deep fat and is fried. Fried bannock is usually prepared daily since it is best when eaten hot.



MAKING BANNOCK – BAKER LAKE

C. Thompson 1968



Meats, fish and fowl: These are often eaten either raw or boiled. In winter, the meat is frozen and is often eaten before it thaws. Cooking is synonymous with boiling as far as the Eskimos are concerned, and in the experience of the author, meat was neither fried, broiled nor baked. Meat and fish broths are drunk and sometimes either dried soup mixes or canned potatoes are added to the broth while the meat is cooking. There is no attempt to make systematic “cuts” of the meat for cooking other than those cuts which follow the ordinary lines of the carcass joints. Some caribou and fish are dried in the open air for stockpiling; these are eaten without cooking. Ptarmigan is eaten either cooked or raw, but most other fowl, especially geese and ducks, are cooked and the broth is drunk.

Canned Products: With the exception of soups, the contents are most often eaten cold directly from the can. Uneaten portions are stored in the can until they are consumed. Soups are heated but do not always have water added to them.

Frozen Foods: Usually vegetables are heated before serving. Sometimes a number of them are heated together in one pan or pot. Unused portions of the package are put onto the cold porch and usually thawed and refrozen before they are again used.

Package Dinners: Prepared foods, especially macaroni, are put into a pot of water and are boiled until they are served. The macaroni is never drained and made into a casserole dish with the cheese, the latter is placed into the water with the macaroni.

Young girls who attend the vocational school in Churchill are expanding their culinary knowledge and these lessons are sometimes carried on when they return to their homes. The frequency depends upon the girl's family and the facilities (i.e. stove and utensils) in the house. However, most women who utilize the prepared foods do not indulge in experimentation and little imagination is shown in their preparation. One major problem with foods from the store is that directions are in English or French and few of the adult women can read either language; consequently, one gets soup without water added, over-cooked macaroni (as long as two hours), or pancake mix prepared just as bannock would be prepared.

Both canned and powdered milks are used. The milk product is mixed with water for children as necessary and is rarely prepared in large quantities at one time; sugar is always added. When powdered milk is used, the resulting mixture is usually watery. Less water is used when canned milk is prepared.

Foods which are not consumed at one sitting are put into the cupboard or onto the cold porch on an open dish or in the original container; they are usually not covered. With store products, the packages or cans are often opened just to see the contents; if not eaten immediately, they are stored in the container until a later date.



INTERIOR URQUAQ HOME – CAPE DORSET

C. Thompson 1968



INTERIOR URQUAQ HOME – CAPE DORSET

C. Thompson 1968

C. Material Goods (Cape Dorset)

With the exception of two homes which now have less than the basic furnishings provided, almost all of the families have made some additions to the furnishings, depending on income and the length of time that they have been in the house.

The most popular additions include articles such as curtains, radios, phonographs, tape recorders, framed pictures and other wall hangings, washing machines, baby cribs, sewing machines, stuffed chairs, and in some cases chesterfields and refrigerators. The availability of many of these articles is limited. The tape recorders, radios, and phonographs are the only goods that are fairly readily available and few homes are without at least one of these. The "need" and desire for some of the larger articles of furniture seems to vary directly in relation to how long the family has spent in the settlement and how permanent they consider their move to be.

Since most women think that the dishes provided are not very good, most families have also added to the dishes that have been provided. No dinner plates were included and the cups are not considered to be good for hot drinks since they do not keep the beverage warm. Heavy mugs or metal cups are preferred. The main complaint about the dishes that have been provided is that they are too small.

D. Adult Education

Many Eskimo women in the various settlements have been exposed to various adult education courses in which they were taught some form of sewing or cooking or housekeeping. The women usually respond to these classes well, but often the interest is more because the classes are a diversion ("something to do") rather than because they are really interested in the content. However, the effect of these classes is not to be under-estimated and many women do make use of the things which they feel they can do in their own homes. Baking bread and sewing seem to have made the biggest impression in Baker Lake. In the opinion of the women, the primary importance of the classes is social.

The wife of the Anglican minister in Cape Dorset has conducted cooking and sewing groups for interested women in connection with the church's Ladies' Auxiliary since the mission was established in the settlement. In addition there have been two adult education programs in the settlement since January 1967 in connection with the rental housing program. The first program was introduced in early 1967 and concentrated on general housekeeping procedures and information about the new houses. The program lasted for three months. In late 1967 and early 1968, another program was offered which was headed by the wife of the local Area Administrator. This program dealt with baby care and formulas for baby feeding, art work for home decoration, and some sewing and cooking.

The immediate effect of the government programs since 1967 is not very apparent. Although the homes of ladies who participated in the classes show some of the results in that paper flowers and cutouts for hanging are evident, it does not

appear that anyone has continued to do these things on her own. In no home visited was it noticed that any particular attention was paid to baby formulas or to the preparation of special baby foods. Dry or canned milk is mixed with water and sugar and fed to the children; measurements are not precise.

Feed-back to the minister's wife concerning these classes as well as her own is that the women are not really very interested. Their general feeling is that they are competent enough to handle their own affairs and if they have a special problem, they can go to someone (e.g., the minister's wife) and get the necessary information. The women find that routine housekeeping is boring and they are not interested in working in the home all day. To quote some of them: "if the men are satisfied with what we do, why should we do more? "

The men have not been included in the programs of adult education that have been carried out to date by the various government-employed home economists. This is unfortunate since men are, in most cases, the dominant members of households. The women do little of the actual purchasing in the stores and they certainly rarely act as catalysts for innovations in the diet or changes in the household routine.

Although the women were traditionally the dominant figures in the tent household (and when in camp still retain that position), their authority seems to have been usurped when they have moved into housing in the settlement. The home does not "belong" to the woman; she has had nothing to do with building or furnishing the house; she is not responsible for buying food or any other articles in the house. Therefore, she does not feel greatly responsible for the house or its upkeep. Also Eskimo women are supposed to have learned their wifely duties before marriage; adult education classes imply that they are not good wives and can involve a "loss of face" for them.

It is only (or mostly) in those houses where the husband demands that his wife do things in the nature of upkeep, and where the husband acts as the innovator by providing foods and material possessions for his wife that one can find women spending more time as homemakers. In these families the wife/mother role is reinforced and the woman is still central to the running of the house rather than someone who is peripheral to the setting.

The use of older girls as drudges in the homes has also been overlooked by the educators. In many homes it is these girls who are responsible for most of the cooking and cleaning. They are expected to work with very little direction and get little help from any other member of the family. The wives in these families expect the girls to do the work on their own and offer very little in the way of advice or training. The homemaking procedures these women have learned in classes rarely if ever get passed on to the girls who are actually doing the work.

For the most part then, the classes are viewed as social occasions where the women can get together for gossip and also for entertainment. In not a few cases, the women actually take offence at what they consider to be "bossing around" by a white person who is from the government.



INTERIOR URQUAQ HOME – CAPE DORSET

C. Thompson 1968

CHAPTER III

Host Families

During the periods of field work in Baker Lake and Cape Dorset, I was able to board with Eskimo families. I also lived with an Eskimo family for three weeks in Frobisher Bay during September of 1967 but information from this family is not reported here.

A. BAKER LAKE

My host family in Baker Lake was Peter Kalloar and his wife Louisa Koonoonark aged 43 and 28 respectively. In addition to Peter and Louisa, their adopted daughter, Mary Madaline, aged 3, and Peter's son, Charlie, aged 21, also lived in the house. Their home was a model 370 unit which Peter had bought under the program of selling houses to Eskimos living in the settlement.

Kalloar was employed full-time by D.I.A.N.D. as a driver during the period of field work in Baker Lake. Although he is not a vocal leader in the community, Kalloar impressed me as being one of the quiet leaders and I felt that this is shown by his presence on the Community Hall committee, and as a member of the Housing Authority, both of which are elected positions.

Ties with the extended family members tends more toward Louisa's family since all of Peter's immediate family with the exception of one brother are dead. Louisa has two brothers and her father lives with her younger brother, Leo.

Since Kalloar does have a full-time job, the family was almost exclusively dependent upon the store for their food and clothing. Land food (caribou and fish) was eaten occasionally when it was available. Charlie had nets which he checked periodically, but fish consumption gradually slackened off after November. We had caribou when it was provided by Louisa's brother, Leo; otherwise, all other food was from the store. The types of food preferred were soups, baked beans, spaghetti, canned meats, canned chicken, canned fruit and fruit juices, dry cereal, porridge, and pilot biscuits. Bannock was prepared every day and was sometimes alternated with buckwheat cakes after I showed Louisa how to mix them.

1. Daily Diet

The meal schedule was structured around my host's work day. Louisa usually cooked some porridge for breakfast which each person ate when he got up. Lunch was served at noon when Kalloar came home and the evening meal was eaten just after he finished working. We rarely diverged from this pattern.

Since almost all the food was bought from the store, cooking meant that the contents of various cans were just heated for serving. Everyone ate together.

2. Material Possessions

The family had a fair amount of material possessions; besides the usual table, chairs, beds, etc., found in all the homes, they had a metal cupboard, a record player, a radio, about 60 long-playing record albums (mostly country and western), a harmonium accordin, a rather large number of clothing items, three carrying chests of tools, a telephone, and a ski-doo which was acquired while I was living with them. The items of southern origin were far more numerous than the few items which might be considered to be Eskimo, which would include: Louisa's *ulus*, a few caribou skins, caribou mitts, caribou boots (worn only by Louisa and by Charlie when he went out on the land), and a few other odds and ends.

B. CAPE DORSET

My host family was a young couple, Ottochie Ashoona and Toomeeruk aged 26 and 25 respectively. They had three daughters, aged four, three, and two, and a son who was born during my stay with them. An older daughter had died in 1964 when she was two as a result of dog bites. In addition, my host's wife's adopted sister aged 10, spent most of her time with the family.

1. Daily Diet

My host family displayed a number of acculturative traits in their daily living pattern. Toomeeruk, the wife, followed a regularized daily household routine which included light housekeeping interspersed with the larger jobs of clothes washing, sewing, and cleaning. The husband, Ottochie, had a job in the settlement which he kept for most of the year (although he and the others on the crew are hired as casual labourers, they can work the year round). The eating patterns of the family were centered around Ottochie's work schedule in that we had two regular family-oriented meals, at noon and in the evening in addition to the morning meal, which was eaten individually as each person got up.

During the months from April to mid-July (the period I spent in the settlement) we depended upon land food for almost 100 % of our meat source. In April, caribou was still relatively plentiful and that formed the bulk of our meat diet. Caribou gradually gave way to seal by May, and in June we began adding geese and fish to our diet. Dried caribou was considered to be a treat in June and July. During my entire stay with the family we had meat from the store on only seven occasions; these included turkey (once), beef (three times), pork (twice) and canned meat (minute steak and wiener sausages). Seal, caribou and fish were served either raw or cooked (boiled); all the other meats were cooked.

Breakfast for the family was usually some form of dry cereal served with milk and sugar. When we had no cereal, we used bannock in its place. Lunch and supper often included some vegetables and juice or fruit. The vegetables were frozen and were bought from the Bay. The family preferred these to canned vegetables even

though there was less variety, i.e., the frozen vegetables were usually carrots/peas or corn. The family preferred tomato juice to the other juices but this could have been due to the limited supply on hand at the stores during this time.

The children drank most of their milk from bottles in the evening before bed and in the morning; during the rest of the day, they drank tea or coffee mixed with milk. The adults always drank tea or coffee.

Bannock spread with butter and sometimes jam was available almost any time during the day. It was usually baked in the oven in large loaves or in small bun sizes. When bread is available from the store or at a Church bazaar, the family prefers that, but Toomeeruk does not bake bread herself. When bread is on hand, it is often served toasted with butter and jam.

The family's dependence on and preference for some variety in their diet and for regular meals was very evident during the time we spent in camp. Although there was no work schedule around which to structure meals, we still followed at least a two meal pattern (often three) and we took some food items, such as cereal and milk, with us to camp. Although there was less variety in the types of food eaten in camp, Toomeeruk varied the ways in which she prepared bannock – fried and deep-fried as well as baked. We did not have vegetables while in camp.

The variety in the food eaten during April-July was governed more by the supplies in the stores than by the buying pattern of the family. However, they did show a distinct preference for vegetables and fruit products rather than the starchy foods such as macaroni and spaghetti. If I had not bought and prepared spaghetti dinners on three occasions, I do not think that we would have had any at all. We had macaroni only once and no one seemed to care for it. This could have been due to the fact that it was not prepared properly.

Although the family with whom I lived displayed an interest in a variety of foods and in a fairly regular pattern of eating, I in no way want to imply that this is a general pattern throughout the settlement. The majority of families do not yet buy or eat food in a regularized pattern. There is more often a situation of abundance or scarcity governed by hunting trips and access to cash. Foods are eaten quickly as soon as they are acquired and there is no pattern of spacing the food so that there will be a regular amount to be eaten each day. Even with my host family, we followed the abundance/scarcity model on a modified scale, and there were times when we had only bannock and tea in the house. This happened with far less frequency, however, than it did with other homes. Indeed, some families exist primarily on bannock and tea interspersed occasionally with meat and store products.

2. Eating Patterns

As a rule, but especially when in groups, men and women do not eat together. When there are a number of people present, for example after a seal hunt, the men are responsible for butchering the animal and they give selected pieces to the

women. Young children usually eat with their mothers but will often go between the two groups for pieces of food.

In the privacy of the family, the wife and/or older girls are responsible for serving the men. After the men have been served, and sometimes before they are finished, the women eat. Occasionally, the family will all eat together.

Except in those families which have a routinized meal schedule, adults eat when they are hungry; children will ask for food, but do not always get it. Bannock and tea are for the taking when they are available.

Although the family with whom I stayed had a fairly regular meal schedule because the husband worked, there was a definite difference in how and where we ate depending on the food. When the meat was not cooked, we most often gathered around the piece which was placed on the floor. After we finished we moved to the table for tea and bannock. When the meat was cooked, we often had either frozen or canned vegetables, as well as tomato juice, and we always ate at the table. The meat and vegetables were followed by broth from the meat and then by tea and bannock.

3. Material Possessions

Material possessions in my host's home included, in addition to the basic furnishings, a combination radio-phone console (which was later sold), two table lamps, two wall lamps, a card table, a chesterfield, a floor carpet, 3 12 x 24 framed pictures, four brass plates on the walls, one end table, one chest of drawers, one baby crib, a wash stand in the toilet, one bookcase, two wall hangings, one large map, and various cut out pictures on the walls. In addition there were an electric tea kettle, a can opener on the wall, towel racks in the kitchen and toilet, large paper flowers in a vase, a tape recorder, curtains for all of the windows, and draw drapes for the large picture window. Glass and metal cups and glasses were added to the dishes provided.

C. Clothing and Buying Patterns

1. Clothing

Men: While in the settlement, all men wear "southern" clothing. Trousers, shirt, and rubber boots with duffle socks are topped by Grenfell and duffle parkas and sometimes windpants. A few men wear traditional sealskin boots. Many of the younger men wear southern coats and sweaters in the spring. Men who hunt have skin parkas and (sometimes) windpants.

Women: Most young, single women prefer stretch ski-type slacks and sweaters topped by Grenfell and duffle parkas; foot wear is a mixture of southern boots and sealskin boots. Older married women most often wear skirts or dresses over leotards; some also wear "bloomers". Mothers with small children wear *amaoutiaks* (traditional women's parka with a pouch on the back for carrying children).

Children: Most of the clothing for children is bought from the store and reflects adult clothing. Both boys and girls were levis, duffle parkas and rubber boots. For school, some girls are dressed in leotards and dresses. Small children, who are carried, often wear only a t-shirt while they are indoors; some are dressed in head-to-toe snow suits when they go outside.

Although sealskin footwear is the only “traditional” clothing that is seen to any large degree, sewing still occupies a large percentage of the time of many women because they sew much of their own clothing and their children’s clothing. Women sew parkas, duffle socks, dresses and footwear for their families, and sometimes other articles for household use, e.g., curtains.

2. Buying in the Stores

Although the women do influence to some degree what is bought in the stores, and they do some of the buying themselves, the men make most of the purchases. In my host families the men decided which new food items would be bought and which of these they would continue to buy.

One of the main problems with most of the boxed and canned foods is, of course, the inability to read the instructions on how to prepare the food. Consequently, many of the food items are rejected because they were not properly prepared rather than because the family would not otherwise like to eat them.

The second problem in preparing many of the packaged foods is the lack of proper utensils. Few of the women seem to have a variety of pots and pans that can be used in the preparation of food. Preparing food in the oven instead of on top of the stove also seems to have its limitations.

Although almost all of the women have been exposed to some sort of adult education or cooking classes that deal with food and the importance of diet, they seem to be reluctant to introduce many of the new things to their families. Perhaps if the husbands or the children received the instruction also, they could ask (or tell) the women to prepare the foods which would then become part of the diet.

Since all or most of all the items available in the stores are limited in supply, and cannot be replenished for another year, the attitude that has developed toward buying has been one of immediate purchase and consumption. Items are often bought in quantity (or are bought with high frequency within a short time period). Variety buying at one time is thus dispensed with in favour of buying those items one prefers immediately before the stock is exhausted.

3. Mail Ordering

Ordering clothing and household goods through the catalogue services has become an important avenue for the people of the settlement. A growing number have acquired sufficient skills in reading the catalogues so that there is little need for them to find a white person to do the ordering for them. However, when placing orders, little attention is paid to the price of items or to analysing which article is

the better buy when a choice is available. There is also little or no awareness of the type of material being ordered or to the quality. Goods which must be dry-cleaned are ordered frequently even though there is no dry-cleaning service in the area. The aspect of pricing that is considered to be important when ordering is the total amount of the order to be placed. If the amount is too high, one or more articles is struck from the order rather than ordering a similar article at a lower price.

During the time that I lived with the Ottochie family, they received two C.O.D. orders totalling slightly more than \$100 and they placed three other orders totalling about \$170. The bulk of the items ordered were clothing for the family, but also included drapes for the house, material for curtains, and an electric guitar. Money to pay for the order is most often collected after the parcel has arrived at the post office rather than when the order is placed. This pattern is undoubtedly related to the sometimes very long delay between the placing of the order and the receipt of the package.

CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

For the most part, the women of Baker Lake and Cape Dorset are making acceptable and remarkable changes in their daily patterns of housekeeping and homemaking. As in any situation, individuals are adapting at different rates of competence, but in general, the speed at which these women have accepted what is a totally different way of life for most of them is almost overwhelming. This is not meant, necessarily as praise for the rental program, but instead is meant for those women who are so greatly affected by these changes imposed from without and over which they have little control.

The practical suggestions for changes in the physical aspects of the rental houses have come from the Eskimo women themselves. Since the new rental houses were not yet in use during the field period in Baker Lake, these suggestions are, of course, only from Cape Dorset.

The women were primarily concerned with three things: 1) storage space, 2) water, and 3) cooking. Increased living space also means increased accumulation of material goods. Shelves and closets are needed inside the houses. Metal cupboards, and the like, decrease floor space and are cumbersome. Increased floor space, the use of southern-style clothing, larger numbers of dishes and increased daily bathing has meant a need for larger amounts of water. The women feel that larger water tanks and larger stoves complete with water heating tanks should be included in the furnishings for the houses. Neither are the women terribly happy with the kind of dishes provided; larger bowls and dinner plates would be more useful.

There did not seem to be any displeasure with the rental scheme based on income as it was understood in Baker Lake. However, in Cape Dorset where people have been renting for two years, some men did express dissatisfaction. It seemed to the author that their complaints were due more to an incomplete understanding of the scheme which is based upon real and estimated income. A thorough review of the rental scheme is in order here.

Since the adult education classes seem to have been concerned with the women of the settlement and renovations in their homemaking patterns, ideas concerning adult education fall mainly in this category, and it is hoped that these few generalizations will aid the individual in the settlement as much or more than the planners' overall, more abstract, program. Each settlement is unique and it is up to the individual to exploit his or her own situation.

Lessons in nutrition and cooking should be adapted to the already established patterns of eating which are primarily unregulated and not strictly routined. Some homes are beginning to follow a more regular schedule; most as yet do not. Since the

misuse of some imported foodstuffs can actually be harmful (such as refreezing thawed foods), it is more important to concentrate upon the learning of how to use imported foods to the greatest advantage than it is to establish new patterns of eating. The latter is likely to follow the increasingly routinized daily schedule that is occurring in the settlements anyway.

The influence of the men on purchasing, cooking, and home care should be realized and exploited; men can be asked to influence their wives' habits of cooking and homemaking. Since women have been excluded from some of their traditional decision making situations within the household, their role can be reestablished through the influence of the men.

The importance of the older girls in carrying out the household routine should not be ignored by home economists and daughters should be included. Working through the mothers in teaching their daughters can be very effective; that is, both the younger and older women should be present and the lessons can be taught by teaching the mothers how to teach their daughters. Continuity between classroom and home can then be established. The important role of the older sister in teaching her younger siblings should not be overlooked.

The effect of any learning situation and experience can only be evaluated over a long period of time. Trends can be observed and commented upon so that certain aspects of the teaching situation can be changed or altered to fit the prevailing needs. Those people who fill these roles must be constantly aware of their need to be flexible and to be sensitive to their position as carriers of new cultural patterns. The recipient population should be permitted to accept and reject anything brought to them as they see fit. Blind dedication on the part of a teacher or government officer is no substitute for sensitive guidance. The Eskimo women of Baker Lake and Cape Dorset are making tremendous changes in their daily living patterns of which housekeeping and child care are only part. Changes in established cultural patterns can be effective only if those expected to change are allowed some diversity in adapting new patterns to their own situation; forced changes by outside agents will lead to rejection and frustration for both the agent of change and the Eskimo.

Appendix I

A. RENTAL HOUSING PROGRAM – ADMINISTRATION POLICY

Since some 800 Eskimo families throughout the Arctic had indicated an interest in purchasing homes, and indeed some of them had completed payments on their homes, the government proposed to purchase back those homes which were still in good condition and which could also be integrated into the rental housing scheme. In this way, the new housing provided under the rental program would involve only three-bedroom models and the one and two bedroom homes would be made available from those houses that the government was able to repurchase and refurbish to meet the rental standards. These houses would also be used as temporary accommodation for those families who joined the rental program after it was initiated in a settlement and before a three-bedroom home was ready for occupancy. A family moving into the settlement from a camp would be housed in one of the smaller models until a larger model for their family needs could be made available to them.

1. The Rental Policy

Definite criteria concerning the priority of certain families for housing was outlined by the government policy. The first families to be included in the program were those who demonstrated the most need; i.e. the largest families would move into the larger homes first and those families who were living in temporary accommodation such as tents or snow houses or in scrap lumber houses would be moved into rental housing before those families which already had housing.

Size of family is an important factor in determining house allocation. Childless married couples or single persons will obtain a one-room house of approximately 280 sq. ft. in area. Two adults or a father and a mother with a child under twelve can be allocated to a one-bedroom house of 380 sq. ft. A married couple with one other adult, or two childless married couples will be able to obtain a two-bedroom house of approximately 620 sq. ft. in area. So too will a family of two children provided that both are of one sex, or if of different sexes that one is under twelve. If two bedroom houses are not available in the community, then these people can be eligible for three-bedroom houses. All larger families should be provided with three-bedroom houses of approximately 700 sq. ft. (p. 9 Housing Administration).

For the purposes of determining rental payments, the policy makers divided the family units of each settlement into three categories; (a) those with full-time incomes, (b) those on social assistance or pensions, and (c) those with seasonal incomes. With the exception of category (b), the rent paid is to be 20 % of the family's income. Category (a) includes all those families in which the household head holds a full-time job, is steadily employed and is receiving a monthly income;

category (b) includes those families who are in need of social assistance, i.e. widows, medical patients, or families in those areas where income is generally lower than that considered essential, and those families receiving old-age or disability pensions. Family allowances are not included in determining income. These families are to make a token payment of \$2.00 per month for the rental houses regardless of the size of the house. The third category (c) includes those families whose bread-winners are not permanently employed; i.e. those whose income depends upon hunting, trapping, carving and seasonal employment, etc. A median income is determined for this group as a whole and all members included in this category pay the same rent – 20% of the median income. Rent for this group is set up on a yearly basis and can be paid at any time. The rental scheme and categories are to be evaluated at the beginning of each fiscal year and the individual family rents will be adjusted accordingly (p. 10 Housing Administration).

Maximum rents for each of the different types of housing* available in a settlement were set up: “Maximum rent for a one room plan 370 house is \$37.00 per month; for an Angirraq or one bedroom house the maximum rent is \$42.00 per month. Rental for 512 units has been determined at \$50.00 per month. A two-bedroom house has a maximum rent of \$62.00 per month and a three-bedroom of \$67.00 per month (p. 10 Housing Administration). The rents are considered to be based upon the same percentage of income as for Departmental staff housing and the maximum rentals can be raised or lowered as rents for departmental staff housing in the area fluctuate (*ibid*).

Rents, then, are based on a combination of two factors: (1) the income of the family concerned and (2) a maximum rent for the type of house occupied. “For example, if a man was making \$2,400 a year, or a monthly income of \$200, then the monthly rent would be 20 % of \$200 or \$40. However, as the maximum rent that can be charged for a one-bedroom house is \$37.00, then that is what he would pay. If, however, the man earning \$200 per month was living in a three-bedroom house, with a maximum rent of \$67.00, then the Eskimo (*sic*) would pay \$40.00.” (p. 11 Housing Administration).

2. The Rental Housing Association

Since one of the aims of the government is to establish locally controlled agencies in the settlements which are staffed by local people, it was proposed that each settlement form a local housing association which elects a Housing Authority that will eventually become responsible for the administration of the rental program on the local level.

Generally, we regard the local housing association as an organization representative of the tenants of Departmental rental housing in a community, which would undertake, on behalf of the Department to carry out all necessary maintenance to departmental rental housing in that community. The Association will act as representative of the tenants in all negotiations with the Department, and will have some other responsibilities as negotiated (p. 13 Housing Administration).

* charts of the various house types are in appendix IC p. 39

The responsibilities of the Housing Authority will also eventually include such duties as the collection of rents, the determination of rents, and allocation of houses to new tenants.

Because no community had any such organization set up prior to the commencement of the rental program in 1966, it was determined to establish these associations in each settlement. Each association is to be made up of tenants in the community and is to elect a council of representatives known as the Housing Authority. Officers of the Authority are to be elected at an annual meeting of the housing association at large by those people who are occupying rental housing and the ultimate goal is for the Housing Authority to function independently as a spokesman for the government policy and the members of the Housing Association. Each Housing Authority must apply on the part of the Association to the Commissioner of the Northwest Territories for incorporation under the Society Ordinance of the Northwest Territories. It is the responsibility of the local area administrator to supervise the Authority at the outset in the capacity of chairman or to appoint someone to act as chairman in his place; this is called "phase 1". In "phase 2" the area administrator is to act as secretary to the Authority (or someone nominated by him), and in "phase 3" all officers of the Association are to be elected at large from the renting group in the community and no members will be appointed. Administration duties are to be provided by contract to the department on an ad hoc basis.

In addition to the maintenance of the houses and the collection of rents, the Housing Authority also has the power to recommend that a family be evicted from a rental house where it is determined that the family has been neglectful of the house, or has failed repeatedly to pay the assessed rent without due cause. Eviction, in this case, would mean removal of the family to a smaller, non-serviced house somewhere in the community.

3. Rental Services

Included in the rental payment are various services for the rental house; these include garbage and sewage removal and disposal (where available) and electricity and fuel quotas which are based on size of the unit.

(a) Supply of Fuel Oil

All new housing will be provided with 250 gallon outdoor fuel tanks, complete with fuel gauges. For economical reasons we suggest that oil be delivered to the houses on a programmed basis only. It is recommended that the following quotas by Imperial Gallons or by 45 Gallon Drums, and the approximate number of deliveries per year, be adopted as a guide to indicate a maximum quota. Experience over the next few winters will indicate a firm quota level. (Housing Administration Manual p. 21)

ANNUAL QUOTAS FOR FUEL OIL*

House	Imperial Gallons/Year	Drums/Year	Approximate Number Deliveries For Year
<u>1 Room</u>			
Standard Plan 370A	810	18	4
Standard Plan 408			
Standard Plan 418			
<u>1 Bedroom</u>			
Standard Plan 395	1,080	24	5
Standard Plan 411			
Standard Plan 417			
Standard Plan 424			
Standard Plan 428			
<u>2 & 3 Bedroom</u>			
Standard Plan 396	1,710	38	7
Standard Plan 397			
Standard Plan 409			
Standard Plan 410			
Standard Plan 416			
<u>3 Bedroom</u>			
Standard Plan 436	1,890	42	8
Standard Plan 439			

(b) Electrical Energy

The following quotas of electrical energy are recommended and have been based on reasonable illumination and a reasonable use of small appliances such as floor polishers, food mixers, fry pans, hand irons, radios, toasters, vacuum cleaners and washing machines but not including electric ranges, driers and water heaters.

Again, however, we must be prepared to be flexible; it is possible, initially at least, that in some settlements sufficient power is not available to fulfil the quotas at the shown levels.

In these cases a new level must be set consistent with the power supply. It is the intent of the Department, however, to eventually bring its generation capacity up to the level at which electrical quotas in each settlement can be met.

* from "Housing Administration Manual" page 21.

MONTHLY ELECTRICAL ENERGY QUOTAS IN K.W.H.*

HOUSE		Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
1 Room													
Standard Plan 370A	130	130	100	100	100	70	70	70	100	100	100	130	
308													
1 Bedroom													
Standard Plan 395													
411													
417	150	150	120	120	120	90	90	90	120	120	120	150	
424													
428													
2 & 3 Bedroom													
Standard Plan 396													
397													
409	180	180	150	150	150	120	120	120	150	150	150	150	
410													
416													
3 Bedroom													
Standard Plan 436	190	190	160	160	160	130	130	130	160	160	160	190	

4. Furnishings

Also included with the rental unit are prescribed basic furnishings for each house which include:

*STANDARD LIST OF FURNITURE, FURNISHINGS** AND MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS FOR LOW COST ESKIMO HOUSING

3 BEDROOM HOUSE

4 only	Mattresses for bunk beds, spring-filled, good quality, 39" x 72" 220 coils, with roll edge and woven strips cotton ticking.
1 only	Bed spring 54", frame to be of high carbon steel tubing, on high carbon end angles, 25 galvanized slats, with 2" x 1½" edge bands aluminum finish.

* From "Housing Administration Manual" page 23

** From "Housing Administration Manual", Appendix "F"

1 only	Inner spring mattress, 54", 253 coil springs, of 13½ gauge wire. The border to vertical stitched, prebuilt border with an inner roll to ensure firm edges. To be covered with 7½ ounce heavy Hessian sheeting, 4 ventilators on each side of the border, 2 cord handles on each side of mattress for turning. The tufting is to be uniform button tufted method. The covering to be of durable woven stripped ticking. Upholstery over the construction of high quality layer felt.
4 only	Continental bed legs, with plastic feet, tubular steel, chromuim plated with clamps and bolts.
1 only	Table, coloured arborite top with chrome trim, approx. 36" x 48" extend to 60".
6 only	Chairs, metal, nesting, colour to match above table.

Dishes and Silver Ware

4 only	Cups, heavy duty, Melamine
4 only	Saucers, heavy duty, Melamine
4 only	Plates 7", heavy duty, Melamine
4 only	Bowls, soup, porridge, cereal, etc., approx. 5" diameter, 2" deep.
1 only	Milk jug, 7½ " high, Melamine
1 only	Cream and sugar set, Melamine
4 only	Fruit dishes, 4 oz. (dessert) Melamine
4 only	Table knives, open stock, stainless steel
4 only	Table forks, open stock, stainless steel
4 only	Teaspoons, open stock, stainless steel
4 only	Soup spoons, open stock, stainless steel

KITCHENWARE

1 only	Mixing bowl, stainless steel 3 quarts
1 only	Plastic pitcher, graduated, with covered spout, capacity 64 oz.
1 only	Mop, detachable head
1 only	Mop, wringing pail, galvanized
1 only	Corn broom
1 only	Wash tub, galvanized, round, 25" diam. top, 11" deep, capacity 15 gallons
1 only	Dustpan
4 6 each	Mattress covers - 39"
1 each	Mattress covers - 54"

B. The Adult Educational Program

Concurrent with the construction program, and indeed preceding it on the local level, the government proposed an educational program geared specifically to the housing program. The educational program is to be concerned with the “how to’s” of living in rental housing (i.e. maintenance and utilization of facilities) and also with the training of locally elected officers of a rental housing authority (mentioned above). The housing authority, as explained, is to be introduced in three stages of development beginning with supervision and direction under the local administrative officer, finally acquiring the full responsibility of rent collecting and building maintenance.

It was proposed that the program of education be initiated in multistages. In the first stage, a contract person hired by the government is sent into a community to explain the new rental program to the people there. He assists the community in setting up an elected housing authority and explains the government policy to the people. This includes a complete explanation of the rental program, the outline of leases that are involved, the responsibilities of tenants and the landlord (i.e. the government) in relation to the house and he also elaborates on the services to be included in the rental program such as quotas on fuel and electricity and the basic furnishings that are included with each house. Phase One of the educational program is to be initiated and completed before the houses arrive in the settlement.

Phase Two of the program is concerned with those families who have moved into new rental housing. Very basically, its purpose is to explain the operation of some of the fixtures in the house, e.g. how to operate the stoves, how to read electric meters and fuel gauges to determine if the family is overusing these services, and instruction in basic household maintenance. Most of the people contracted for this phase are home economists who work with the women on cooking, baking, house keeping, child care, and budgeting programs. Contracts are for 3-6 months subject to renewal on an ad hoc basis.

Phase Three is planned to run concurrently with Phases One and Two. The policies of the Housing Association and the duties of the Housing Authority are explained. The Association is organized and the Authority elected.

Phase Four of the program is envisaged as being run by “local leaders”. Primarily, these are women in the community, either Eskimo or White and they are to carry on the work initiated by the Phase Two workers. Families joining the rental program are included as the construction of new houses continues in the settlement. These workers concentrate their work with the women of the households as much as possible and try to introduce better methods in housekeeping, the importance of diet and child care, and those things which the women of the community feel are necessary. The duties of these workers include home visits on an individual basis as well as weekly meetings with small groups of women.

C. House Designs

Housing standards for allocation purposes set by Branch Housing Committee March 1965.

- i) 370 A 12' x 24' Permanently – Childless married couples
 - Single personOn a temporary basis – Father and son
 - Mother and daughter
 - Two adults

- ii) Arrqirraq – – Two adults
 - Mother and daughter any age
 - Father and son any age
 - Father and Mother with child under 12.

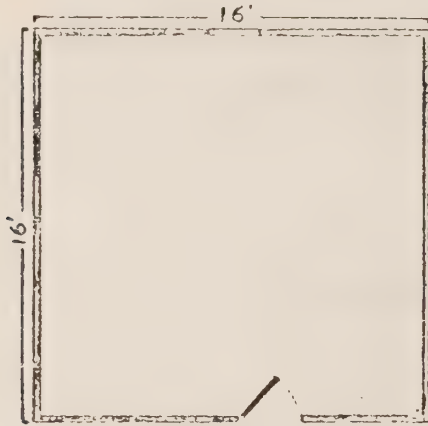
- (iii) 2 – bedroom houses – Married couple plus one other adult
 - Two childless married couples
 - Two married couples when either or both have a child under 2
 - Parents with 2 children provided that
 - (a) both children are of one sex
 - (b) if children are of different sexes, one is under 12.

- (iv) 3 – bedroom houses – Larger families not filling (i), (ii) and (iii) above.

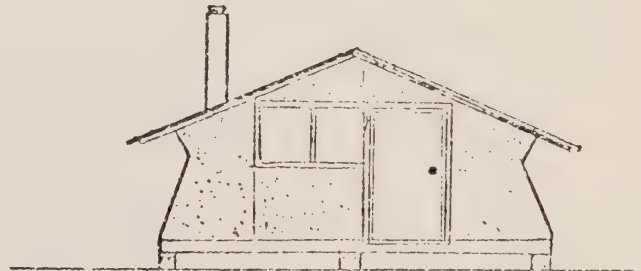
C HOUSE CHARTS AND FLOOR PLANS

ESKIMO LOW COST HOUSING SUPPLIED TO THE ARCTIC DISTRICT

PLAN 319 - RIGID FRAME



FLOOR PLAN

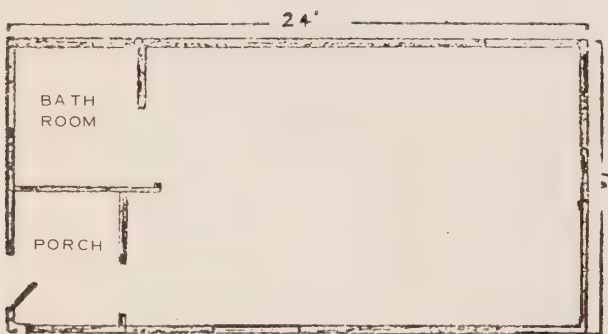


FRONT ELEVATION

Details:

Number of rooms	1	Square footage of building	256
Square footage of living and sleeping area			256
Number supplied to Arctic District			335

PLAN 370



FLOOR PLAN

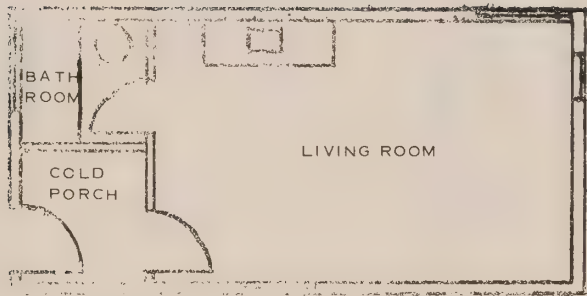
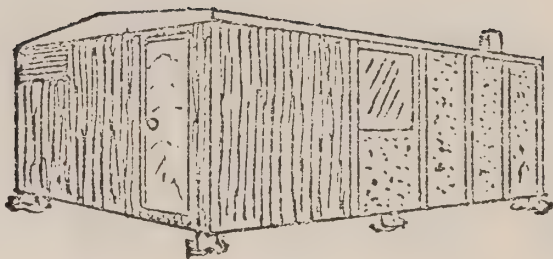


FRONT ELEVATION

Details:

Number of rooms	1	Square footage of building	288
Square footage of living and sleeping area			200
Number supplied to Arctic District			587
Average cost, F.O.B. Montreal			\$1,600.00

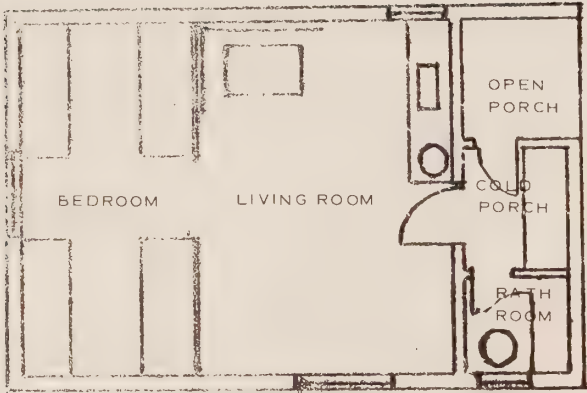
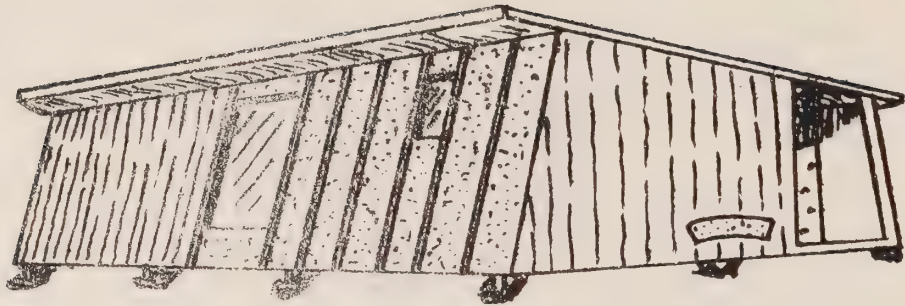
ESKIMO LOW COST HOUSING



ADULT EDUCATION
ESKIMO RENTAL HOUSING

THE ILLUKALLAK
370 AND 370A
MODELS

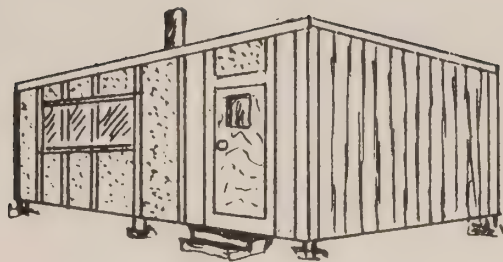
ESKIMO WELFARE HOUSING



ADULT EDUCATION
ESKIMO RENTAL HOUSING

THE ANGIRRAQ

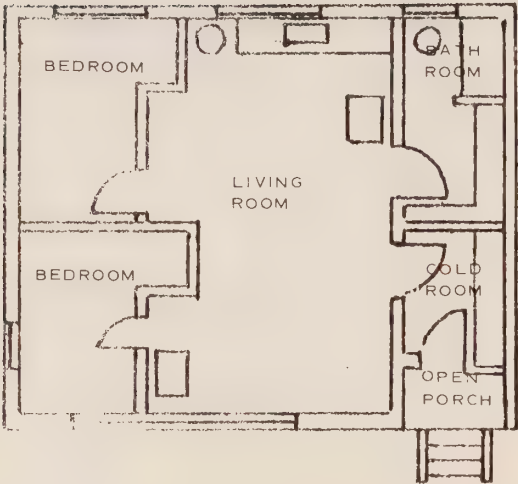
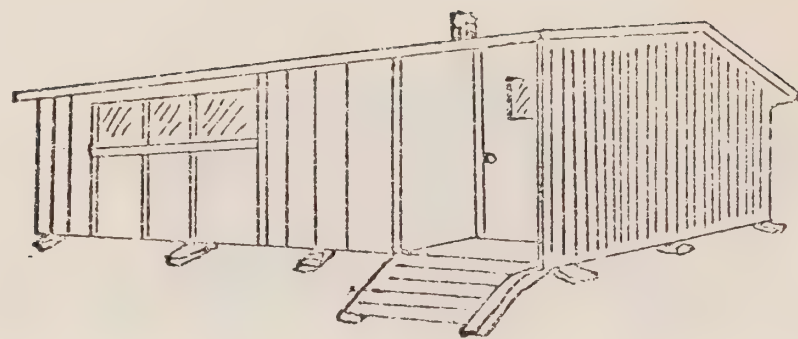
ESKIMO LOW COST HOUSING



ADULT EDUCATION
ESKIMO RENTAL HOUSING

THE TISI

ESKIMO LOW COST HOUSING

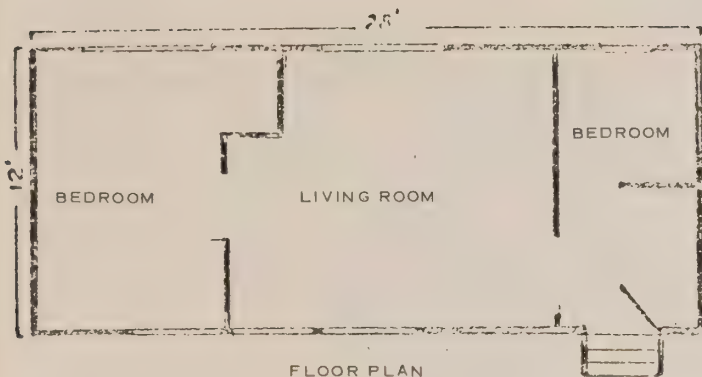


ADULT EDUCATION
ESKIMO RENTAL HOUSING

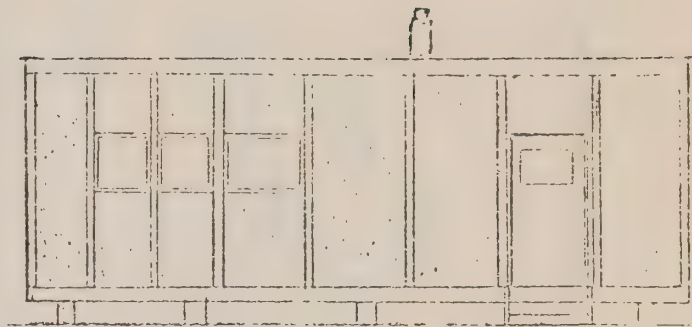
THE QARMAQ

ESKIMO LOW COST HOUSING

PLAN 395



FLOOR PLAN



FRONT ELEVATION

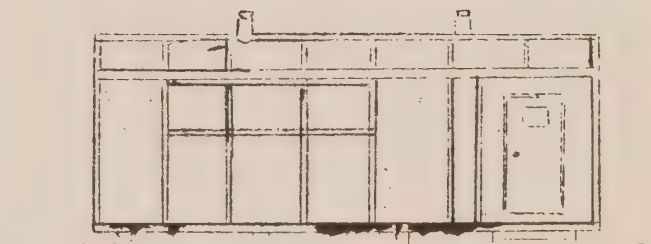
Details:

Number of rooms	2	Square footage of building	336
Square footage of living and sleeping area			252
Number supplied to Arctic District			29
Average cost, F.O.B. Montreal			\$2,500.00

PLAN 397



FLOOR PLAN



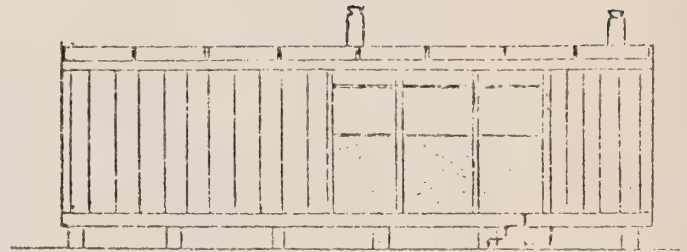
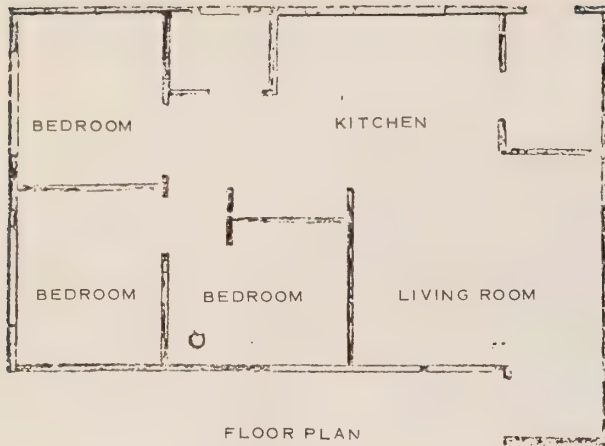
FRONT ELEVATION

Details:

Number of rooms	3	Square footage of building	672
Square footage of living and sleeping area			600
Number supplied to Arctic District			39
Average cost, F.O.B. Montreal			\$4,200.00

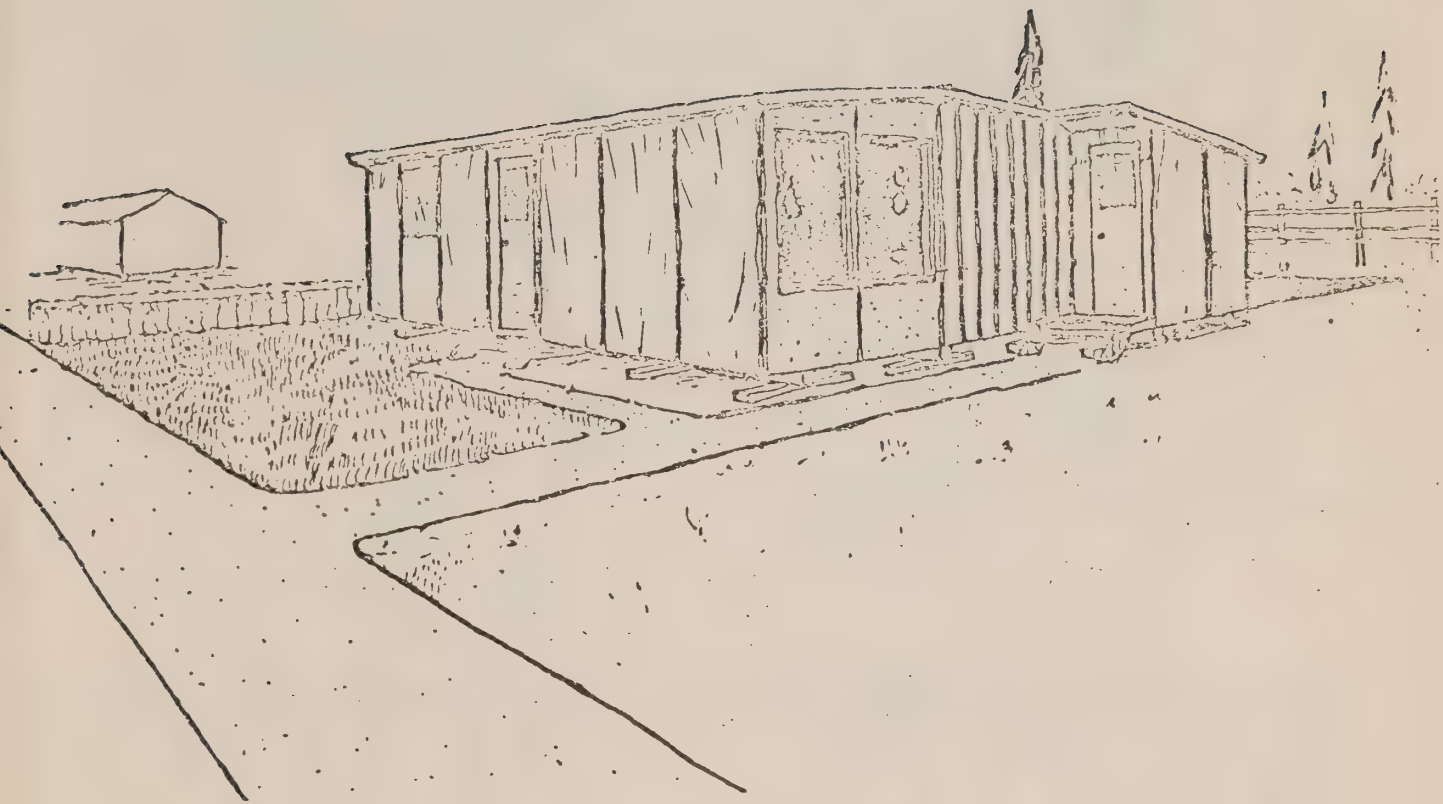
ESKIMO LOW COST HOUSING

PLAN 396

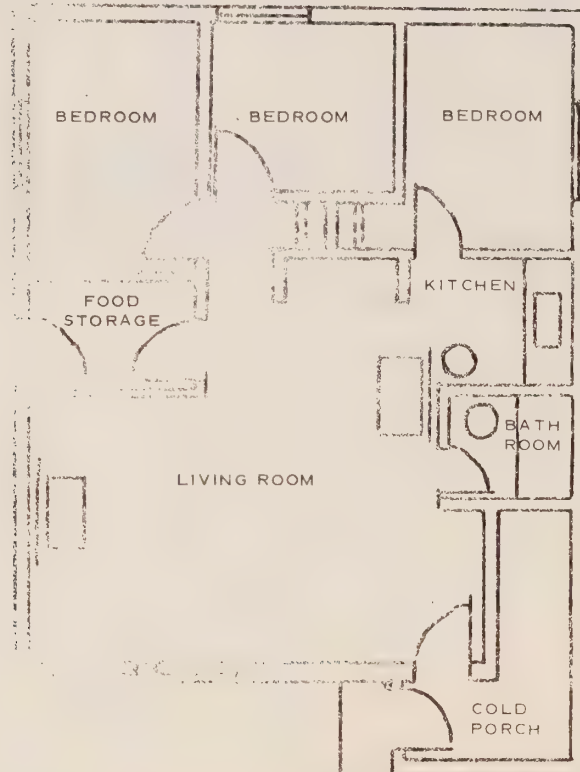
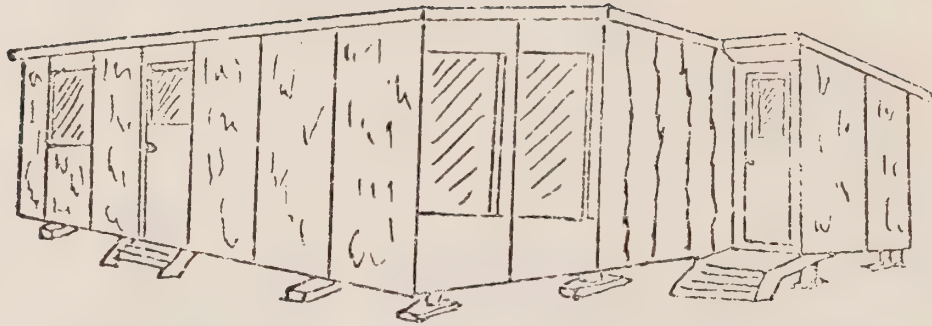


Details:

Number of rooms	4	Square footage of building	640
Square footage of living and sleeping area			630
Number supplied to Arctic District			11
Average cost, F.O.B. Montreal			\$4,500.00

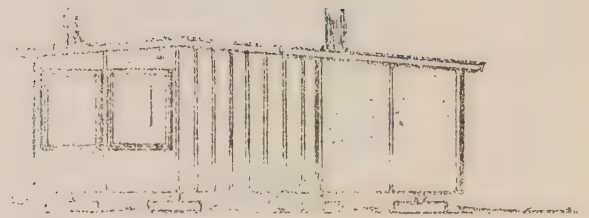


"THE URQUAQ"
(PREFABRICATED)

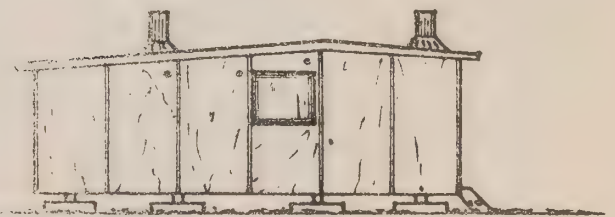


ADULT EDUCATION
ESKIMO RENTAL HOUSING

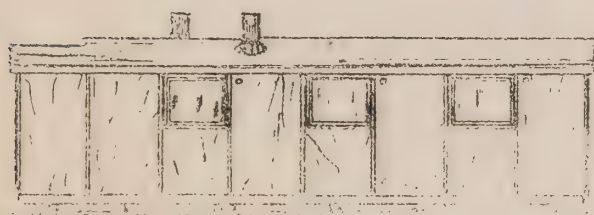
THE URQUAQ



FRONT ELEVATION



REAR ELEVATION



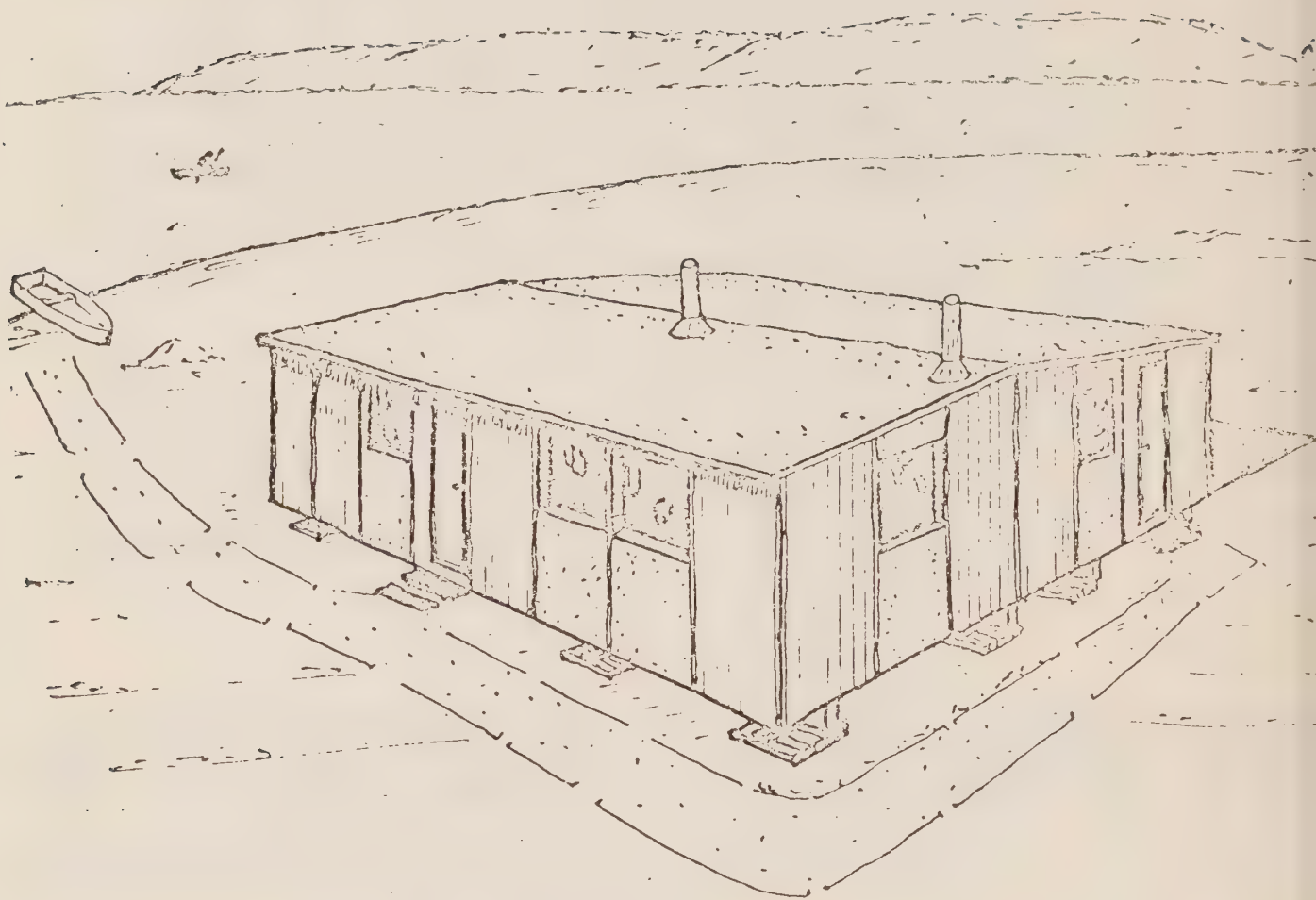
RIGHT ELEVATION



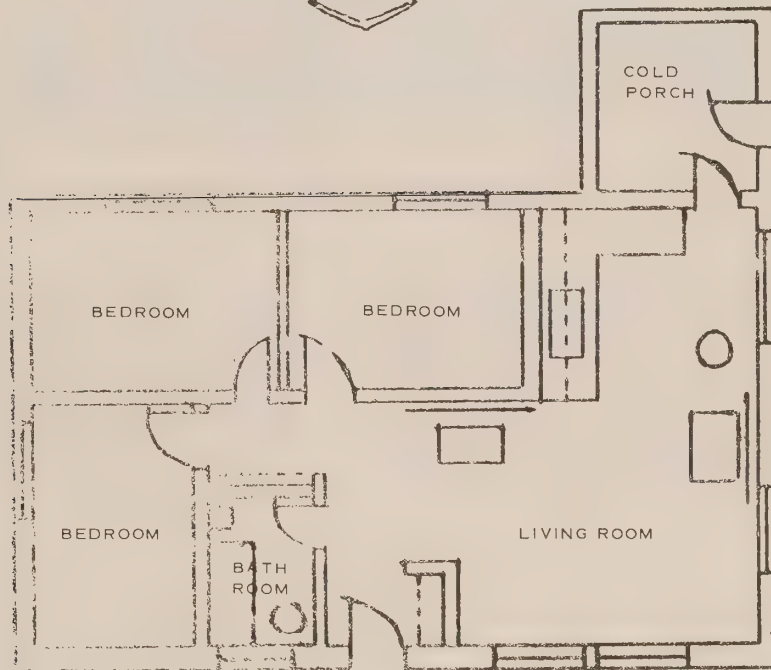
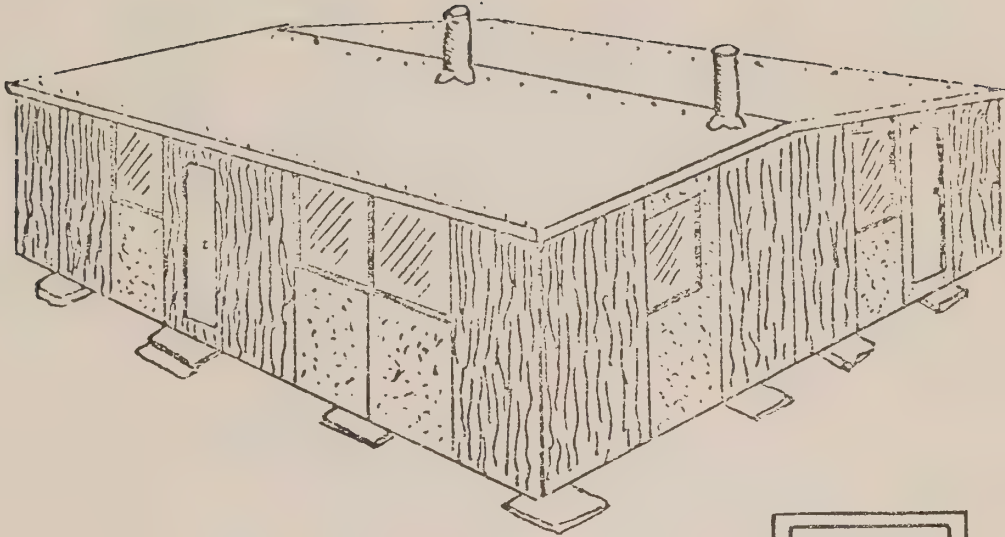
LEFT ELEVATION

THREE BEDROOM HOUSE
(PREFABRICATED)

"URQUAQ"
STANDARD PLAN NO: 436
SCALE: 3-32" - 1' 0"



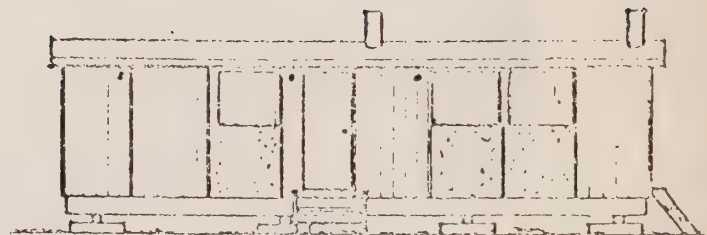
"THE UKUVIK"
(PREFABRICATED)



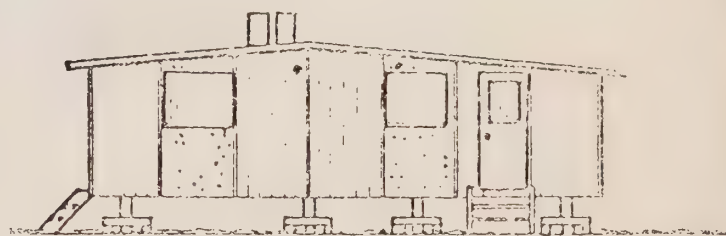


FLOOR PLAN

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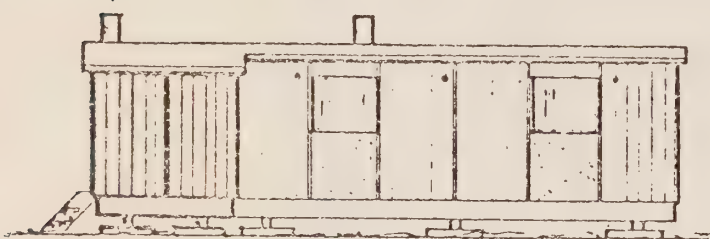


FRONT ELEVATION



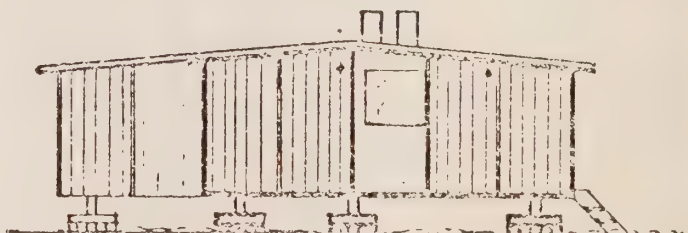
RIGHT ELEVATION

66 AN



REAR ELEVATION

304



LEFT ELEVATION

THREE BEDROOM HOUSE
(PREFABRICATED)

"UKUVIK"

STANDARD PLAN NO: 439

SCALE: 3/32" = 1'-0"

NORTHERN RENTAL HOUSING

FROBISHER BAY REGION

	Housing Supplied by Northern Rental Program During the Period of Fieldwork		
	1966 – 67	1967 – 68	1968 – 69
Arctic Bay	11	7	—
Broughton Island	25	4	—
Cape Christian	—	—	—
Cape Dorset	25	24	—
Clyde River	—	7	7
Frobisher Bay	30	40	—
Grise Fiord	7	8	—
Hall Beach	14	2	—
Igloolik	24	8	—
Lake Harbour	—	12	12
Pangnirtung	38	—	—
Pond Inlet	20	—	—
Padloping Island	—	—	—
Resolute Bay	—	20	—
REGIONAL TOTALS	194	152	19

KEEWATIN REGION

Baker Lake	—	42	37
Chesterfield Inlet	2	26	—
Coral Harbour	—	—	35
Eskimo Point	2	31	28
Rankin Inlet	—	34	20
Repulse Bay	—	10	10
Whale Cove	1	13	10
REGIONAL TOTALS	5	156	140

Appendix II

HEALTH STATISTICS

Improved nursing facilities in northern areas has undoubtedly played a greater part in the better health of Eskimos to date, but continuing good health is also dependent upon adequate homes and education.

One way to judge the success of the Northern Housing Program is to compare health statistics and information available before and after the program was initiated (see charts). Although the time elapsed since the beginning of the program is less than ten years and the encouraging statistics cannot be credited to housing alone, improved housing has definitely played a part in reducing the incidence of respiratory diseases. Patients in hospital in the south can now be returned to their homes and families much sooner since the danger of re-infection and relapse had lessened.

The most important factor in improved housing, however, is the Eskimo population and how the programs have affected their lives. Living permanently in settlements is definitely new to almost everyone over twenty in the eastern Arctic. Many in the under-twenty generation are just moving into permanent quarters with their families. These are the people who will ultimately be most affected by the move into settlements.

NORTHWEST TERRITORIES

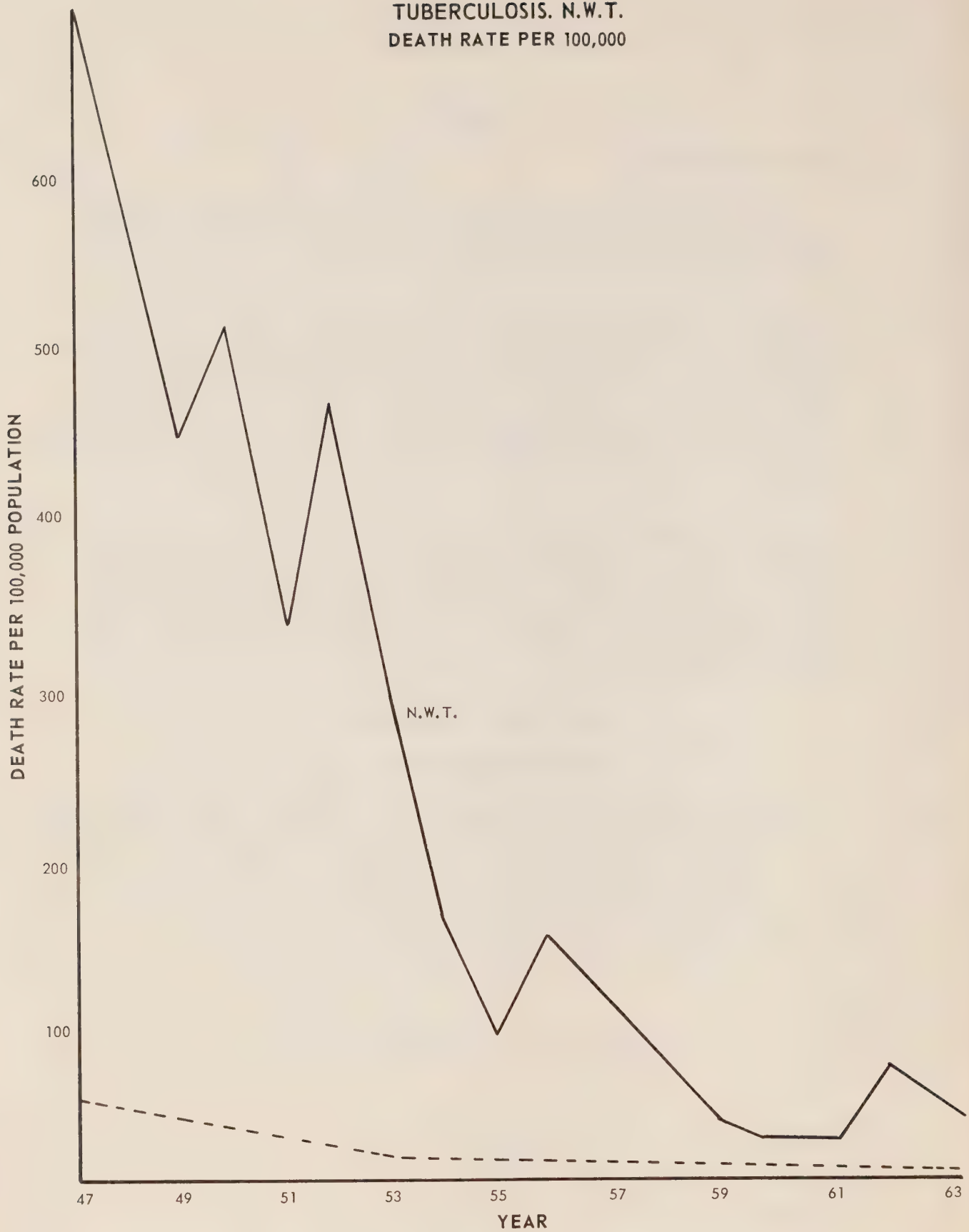
Tuberculosis Control 1962 – 1964

	ESKIMOS			INDIANS			OTHERS			TOTAL POPULATION		
	1962	1963	1964	1962	1963	1964	1962	1963	1964	1962	1963	1964
Population (a)	8,282	8,565	8,929	5,461	5,714	5,085	9,487	9,787	10,130	23,230	24,066	24,943
Number of New Active Cases	155	212	68	49	35	31	21	14	20	225	261	119
Incidence of New Active Cases in Population (m)	1.9	2.48	0.76	0.9	0.6	0.53	0.2	0.14	0.2	1.0	1.08	0.4
Number of Reactivated Cases	(b)	37	23	(b)	16	11	(b)	2	3	(b)	55	37

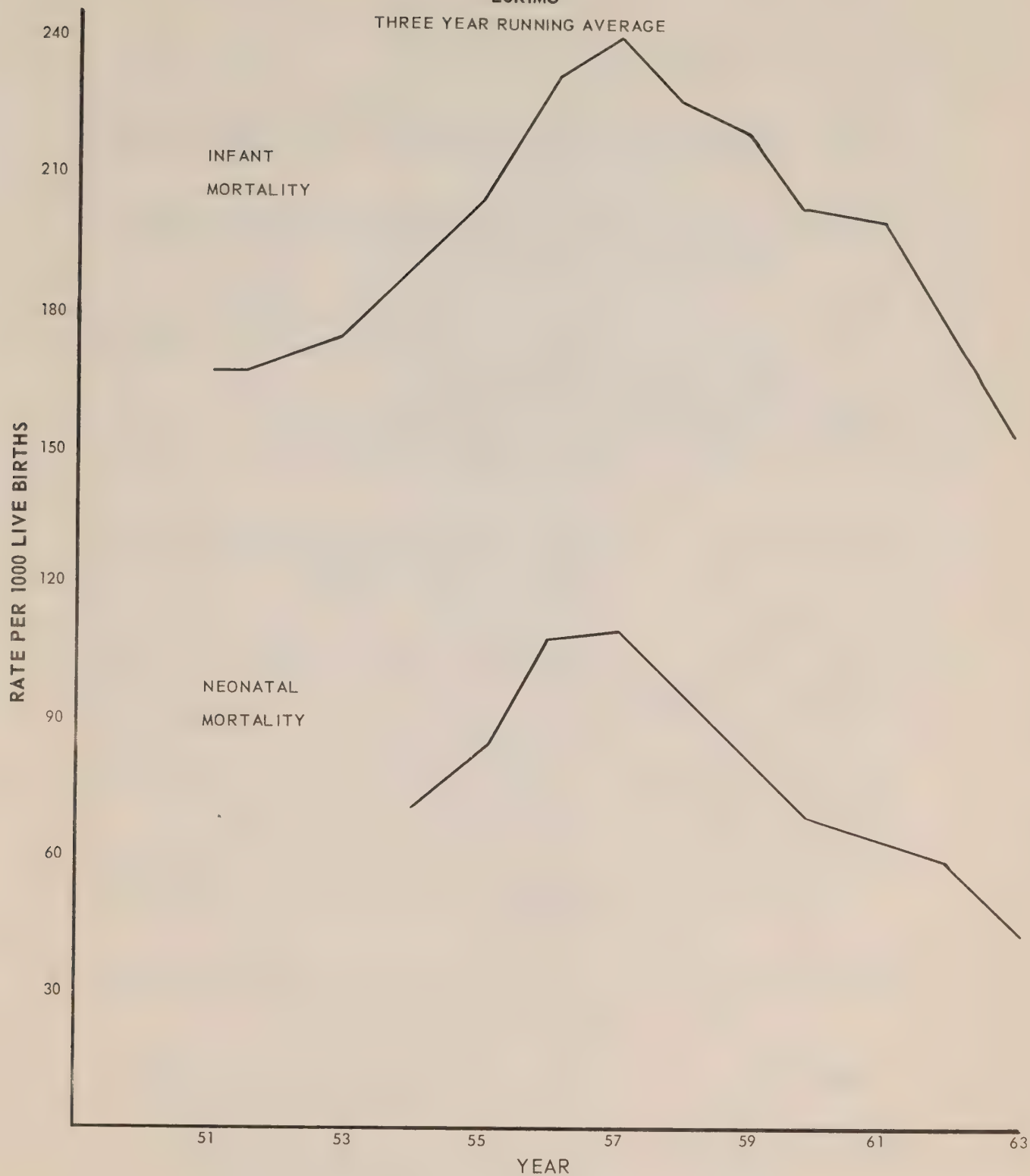
(a) Population estimated on 1961 Census figures plus natural increase.

(b) Figures not readily available.

TUBERCULOSIS. N.W.T.
DEATH RATE PER 100,000



VITAL STATISTICS N.W.T.
ESKIMO
THREE YEAR RUNNING AVERAGE



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